



Major Foreign Policy Challenges Facing the Next Administration

Anne-Marie Slaughter, Princeton University

Nov. 1—Anne-Marie Slaughter addressed WFPG on the foreign policy challenges and priorities for Obama's second-term, as well as some of the challenges that might emerge. Slaughter highlighted climate change and immigration—two hold-over issues from the his first term—as key items on Obama's agenda. She believes climate change became a much higher priority in the wake of Super Storm Sandy and the president's failure to pass a cap-and-trade bill during his first term.

On the Middle East, Slaughter said Obama considered Middle East peace and end-stage peace negotiations a priority for his next term. She suggested that a new special envoy to the region might help progress toward peace. Slaughter also thinks Obama will try to transform the American relationship with the Muslim world, and that the growing young population gives the US an opportunity to redefine the US's role in the region with a new generation. Slaughter emphasized the need for a much greater reliance on government-to-society and society-to-society initiatives to resolve regional issues.

Nuclear disarmament, another priority for the president, is supported by prominent former officials such as Henry Kissinger and George Schultz. Slaughter believes Obama will attempt to lock the US and Russia into further cuts, and also pressure other nuclear states.

While the president will have his foreign policy priorities, he will also have to "confront the inbox" and address challenges in the near-term, including security concerns in Afghanistan and Pakistan relating to the 2014 troop withdrawal. Slaughter believes that the president will adhere to the withdrawal timeframe, but she is skeptical of a complete removal of US forces from the region. Slaughter also anticipates that the administration will

face a number of global economic challenges. First and foremost, the president will have to respond to the debt crisis in Europe, which will have a number of long-term consequences, particularly its impact on slowing the Chinese economy. Slaughter likewise sees economic turmoil in Japan as an emerging challenge for the US.

Slaughter then highlighted emerging powers, such as Indonesia and Turkey, as both challenges for the US and as opportunities to lead. According to Slaughter, the emergence of Brazil as an additional major player will have both political and economic implications for Obama's foreign policy strategy. She underlined the fact that there will most likely be leadership transitions in Cuba and Venezuela in the near future, which will compel Brazil to choose how to position itself politically. She also suggested that Brazil will become a more important partner for the US as the Caribbean emerges as a source of energy and economic investment.



Anne-Marie Slaughter with Patricia Ellis

Embassy Series: United Kingdom

Sir Peter Westmacott, British Ambassador to the US

Nov 1—Sir Peter Westmacott spoke on UK Foreign Policy Priorities and Transatlantic Relations at an Embassy Series event moderated by *Washington Post* Senior Diplomatic Correspondent Karen DeYoung at his residence. Sir Peter discussed commitment to eradicating global poverty in the UK, its membership in the European Union, and the escalating situations in Iran and Syria. He also spoke about his administration's support of initiatives to prevent sexual violence and the subject of Scottish independence.

Sir Peter identified the major foreign policy challenges the US and UK will confront in the coming months: Syria, sanctions on Iran, Israel and Palestine, Mali and its implications for foreign security, and Afghanistan.

On Iran, the ambassador stressed the importance of working through the international community and using international law to move Iran away from nuclear weapons. The UK is pursuing political talks and tighter sanctions in hopes that Iran will be forced to engage with the international community. Sir Peter said that sanctions in Iran are working, but that the engagement process is still very incremental. He noted how important it is that the international community recognize that international organizations and individual countries have done everything they can to prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear power—at this time, no options are off of the table.

Sir Peter voiced his support for drones, acknowledging that they are precise, bring less risk, and are less expensive. He did add that drones raise an array of complicated issues, such as a country's sovereign consent and entitlement to take action. These questions are gaining more media attention in the UK in

the wake of the yet undecided case of Noor Khan, who is suing the British foreign affairs office for their role in the wrongful death of his father—killed in a drone attack in Pakistan—and calling for an investigation of the UK's role in providing intelligence to the US for its drone attacks.

The ambassador acknowledged that the Eurozone crisis has strained relations with the European Union, but he hopes it will not come to a vote on whether the UK should leave the EU. Prime Minister David Cameron is already under a lot of pressure to balance domestic and regional interests and the level of participation of the UK in the EU.

Sir Peter described the increased efforts of the UK, the UN, and Secretary Clinton to prioritize eradicating sexual violence. He underlined the UK's desire to end global poverty and its continued commitment to assisting developing countries, citing Prime Minister Cameron's op-ed, "Combating Poverty at Its Roots," published in *The Wall Street Journal*. In the article, Cameron stresses the importance of foreign aid but also the need for strong institutions that will allow countries to make progress and elevate themselves out of poverty.

The ambassador described the implications of Scottish independence for the UK and for Scottish foreign relations. He discussed the remaining questions: how Scotland would provide for its own security, what would happen to the UK's bases there, how would the UK's investment in infrastructure in Scotland change, and what would become of Scottish politicians serving in British parliament. Sir Peter believes the issue will not be resolved before 2014.



Sir Peter Westmacott with moderator Karen DeYoung



Sir Peter Westmacott with WFPG Board Members and WFPG President Patricia Ellis

Embassy Series: Jordan

Ambassador Alia Hatoug-Bouran



Nov. 27—Ambassador Alia Hatoug-Bouran joined *New York Times* Pentagon Correspondent Elisabeth Bumiller to discuss Jordan and developments in the region. Bouran remarked on the economic crisis and protests resulting from increased gas prices, Jordan’s response to this crisis, the impact of the refugee crisis on the Palestinian refugee population, and US-Jordanian relations.

Bouran discussed high gas prices in the country and accompanying protests. Jordan imports 96% of its oil and gas, so it is greatly affected by disruptions in the region. Most recently fuel imports from Egypt ceased and the pipeline in the Sinai—which Jordan shares with Israel—was targeted in 15 bombings. Bouran still expects protests, but looks forward to increasing tourism and the elections in January.

Jordan houses over 200,000 refugees from Syria—mostly in its Zaatari camp—in addition to 13 Palestinian camps and thousands of Iraqi refugees.



Ambassadors Claudia Fritsche of Liechtenstein, Mario Jaramillo of Panama, Alia Hatoug-Bouran, Marina Kaljurand of Estonia, and Joško Paro of Croatia with Patricia Ellis

Though Jordan welcomes Syrian refugees, there are concerns of chemical and biological weapons, spillover of violence, and being able to differentiate those coming over the borders as combatants or refugees.

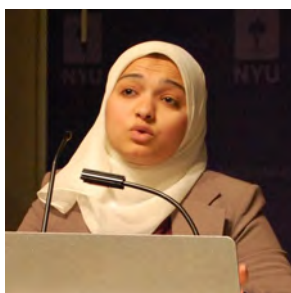
“ We share with the refugees what we have and we are thankful for the international community and the United States for their help. ”

Jordan fears that weapons from rebels will fall into the hands of terrorist organizations like Hamas and Hezbollah. To help allay these concerns, American military planners are advising the Jordanian military on how to prepare. Despite these struggles the ambassador does not believe that the border with Syria will be closed. In her words, “We share with the refugees what we have and we are thankful for the international community and the United States for their help.”

On the Arab-Israeli conflict, Bouran stressed that Jordan is in a unique position to reach out to both sides. Highlighting that Jordan supports a two-state solution, the ambassador underlined the importance of resolving this conflict for peace in the region. In terms of the economy, the Ambassador explained that Jordan places a high value on education; however, the government is not employing as many people as it used to, and the private sector is not growing quickly enough to fill the gap. To help meet this need, the government is working to attract international investment in Jordan and support entrepreneurship. She thanked international actors including the US for its helping in guaranteeing loans for SMEs, among many other things.

Beyond the Headlines: Egypt

How Have Women's Political Rights Fared in Egypt?



Nov. 16—Zainab Al-Suwaij of the American Islamic Congress, Yasmine ElSayed Hani of Al Akhbar newspaper, and Nancy Okail of Freedom House, participated in a conversation on how women's political rights have fared in Egypt. The panelists discussed controversial portions of the new draft constitution with regards to women, developmental and economic issues, and issues surrounding the unification and mobilization of women's rights activists. The event was moderated by Kate Seelye of the Middle East Institute, and co-hosted by and held at NYU Washington, DC.

The speakers commented on article two of the draft constitution, which binds laws by the principles of Shari'ah Law, and article 36, which states that men and women are equal unless there is shown to be a contradiction in an action with Shari'ah Law. Okail added that there is an article being proposed that would give government power to oversee the upbringing of youth. Hani believes that Egyptians do not have a problem with the "principles of Shari'ah", but the "rulings of Shari'ah", which leave room for much interpretation of Shari'ah Law and can be dangerous for women's rights.

Okail discussed the conditions for women under the Mubarak regime. During the revolution, women were harassed and women's rights were marginalized. She shared the story of her arrest, where she was put into a cage with 20 other women activists because of her participation in the Tahrir Square protests. In a post-Mubarak Egypt, Okail believes that Egyptian society still faces many challenges on women's rights including a lack of awareness of the issues and where they come from: unfair laws in the constitution or an institutional platform.

Hani addressed the fact that more than 50% of Egyptians live below the poverty line, and many have minimal or no education or access to clean water. She sees many development issues in

Egypt, such as the inability for women to find jobs, high illiteracy rates, and poor access to healthcare. Hani discussed the political component of the women's rights struggle: all Egyptian women fought together during the revolution, but because the public sphere was opened to everyone during the uprisings, extremists used their new platform to attack women. Hani explained that, in a post-Mubarak Egypt, women are participating in political parties, engaging in activism, and following politics.

Al-Suwaij thinks that the biggest problem facing women in the Arab Spring countries is a lack of mobilization and organization of women activists. Quotas can and have encouraged women's political participation in the Middle East. She sees the implementation and interpretation of Shari'ah Law as a problem for women. All of the panelists agreed that youth were a huge force in the revolution. In Hani's words, "This youth community has its own language, its own principles, its own free public sphere to communicate, to challenge—they have the will to challenge and they have the power to challenge. They transcend institutions."

During the discussion, a lively debate ensued between Al-Suwaij and Hani on whether women could be judges under Islamic law. Al-Suwaij said that even if you argued that the Qur'an allowed women to be judges—which she does not agree with—the fact is that women do not have a commanding presence in the judiciary. Hani argued that Shari'ah Law does not forbid women from being judges and that Egypt must not accept the "norms" of society. Okail then summed up the debate with, "what you are seeing right now...is actually the problem we are having in Egypt, who has the authority to define what Islam is? Who has the authority to interpret the verses of Islam? Who defines who that authority is?...it's going to be the leaders in the country who define who has the word and the right to define what Islam is and what the rules are."

Beyond the Headlines: Syria & Turkey

The Syrian Humanitarian Crisis



Oct. 10—Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration Anne Richard, spoke about the Syrian humanitarian crisis. She gave an overview of the distribution of aid around the region, the situation in Syria, and covered the responses from neighboring countries.

Richard explained how the conflict in Syria has evolved, forcing many Syrians to seek refuge in neighboring countries. In her words, “Each of the four neighboring countries [Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq] has handled the refugee influx differently and they’ve had to juggle different economic and domestic pressures in offering a temporary home to the refugees from Syria.” Many were already hosting large numbers of refugees before the crisis.

The US has contributed over \$130 million in humanitarian assistance to help alleviate this crisis. This aid has primarily gone to the World Food Program and UNHCR. Richard explained that 2.5 million Syrians are in need of humanitarian assistance and that 1.2 million are displaced. Organizations

such as the Syrian Arab Red Crescent and the International Committee of the Red Cross are assisting refugees with food, shelter, medicine and other supplies; however, it has been a challenge for some humanitarian organizations to get into Syria.

In Turkey, there are 14 refugee camps and they plan to establish others. Richard explained that while Turkey originally provided aid without international assistance, the dramatic increase of refugees over the summer has forced them to reach out to the international community for additional support.

Richard continued to contrast how each of Syria’s neighboring countries have dealt with the refugee crisis. Jordan’s situation is unique compared to neighboring states because many refugees are staying with relatives and friends, although they do have one refugee camp (al-Za’atri). Lebanon, on the other hand, has no refugee camps and it has been challenging for organizations providing aid to get into the country. Iraq has to deal with the influx of Syrian refugees, as well as accommodating the flood of returning Iraqis, who are also in need of aid. Richard stressed how important it is for refugees in each of these countries to register with UNHCR, so that they are able to identify groups needing assistance.

Turkey's Role in Syria and the Region

Nov. 29—Turkish Member of Parliament Pelin Gundes-Bakir (AKP) spoke about the violence in Syria, Turkey’s request for NATO patriot missiles, the state and financial cost for Turkey in hosting over 120,000 Syrian refugees.

Gundes-Bakir condemned the human rights violations being committed by Syria, stating that the violence must end, a democratic transition must begin, and Assad must go. She did however caution against sending troops into Syria. She also assured the audience that the requested NATO patriot missiles would only be used for deterrence and defensive purposes to help protect Turkey’s lengthy border with Syria.

Addressing the conditions of the Syrian refugees in Turkey, Gundes-Bakir underlined the many services that Turkey is providing to the refugees, including food and shelter, education, and security personnel.

She stressed that providing adequate resources for the thousands of refugees is extremely costly and asked the US and international community for help. She confirmed that Turkey’s borders would always remain open to refugees in the region.



WFPG President Patricia Ellis with Pelin Gundes-Bakir

Beyond the Headlines

What's Next: Phase II of the Middle East Uprisings with Robin Wright



Sep. 12—In her remarks on What's Next: Phase II of the Middle East Uprisings, author and journalist Robin Wright covered the previous day's attacks in Benghazi and Cairo, and an assessment of the uprisings in Syria, as well as an analysis of the tense relationship between Iran, the US, and Israel. The event

was hosted by Ambassador Joško Paro at the Embassy of Croatia.

Wright paid tribute to Ambassador Chris Stevens, her close friend killed in the attack on the consulate in Benghazi. She described him as "willing to take on conventional wisdom and try to shape US foreign policy in the ways that the people on the ground appreciated it." Although there is still some debate whether the attack in Libya was premeditated, the protests in the region and attacks in Cairo are considered a reaction to a YouTube trailer which disrespectfully depicts Muhammad. The attack was rumored to be orchestrated by the Salafis.

Although many questions remain unanswered, Wright explained that President Morsi's lack of response could damage US-Egyptian relations, especially since this attack occurred after the US sent a delegation of 100 executives to Cairo in hopes of encouraging investment and support for the economy. Morsi faces pressure to respond to these attacks internationally from the US and

domestically from the Salafis, a very influential group in the Constituent Assembly.

On the long debated question of whether Islam and democracy can coexist, Ambassador Paro asked Wright whether the experiences of Eastern Europe or Turkey could serve as models in the Middle East. Wright noted that "the Eastern European experience is very useful, not just in writing a new constitution but dealing with some of the ethnic issues." She then noted that Turkey, though "far from perfect," has made great strides in human rights and its economy and that it is a very interesting model and an important player.

Wright also addressed the tension between Iran, the US, and Israel. She does not see any negotiations happening until after the US presidential elections. Wright also noted that Iran's presidential elections are also on the horizon and Ahmadinejad is not eligible for re-election. The future of Iran's relationship with the West will be influenced by his successor. There is a great deal of debate surrounding Iran's nuclear capabilities and what their goals are. Wright pointed out that "we [the US] assume if you're building a facility in a mountain for nuclear enrichment at a higher percentage than you need for nuclear energy...that there might be something more involved."

Wright urges us to look deeper into the situation and posits, that Iran's nuclear aspirations may have more to do with sectarian divides than international security.



Robin Wright and Patricia Ellis
at the Embassy of Croatia



Shelly Porges, Department of State; Patricia Ellis; Robin Wright;
Ambassador Paro of Croatia; Randa Masri, ConnectME

State Department Briefings:

Women, Girls, and Public Diplomacy



Dec. 5—Tara Sonenshine, Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, spoke on women, girls, and public diplomacy. She gave highlights from her trips overseas and also outlined programs empowering women through leadership programs, jobs in STEM fields, entrepreneurship

initiatives, and sports diplomacy. Some of the programs covered included the African Women's Forum and TechWomen from the Middle East. She explained that the emphasis of these programs now has to be on sustaining women-owned businesses, not just on creation. An advocate of sports diplomacy programs, she stated, "you know what happens when you empower women and girls through sports?...You are coaching them to expect and demand parity on the field and off the field."

Sonenshine discussed the US Embassy in Kabul's program "16 Days Against Violence" campaign, the first female-only internet café in Herat, and other grant programs that will ensure the growth of female participation in Afghanistan after US troops leave in 2014. On Egypt, she mentioned the "Share the Mic" competition, which is similar to "American Idol", as a way to promote engagement and bonding among the participants. Sonenshine also underlined the importance of mentoring and highlighted an upcoming program, which will promote mentoring in science and technology for women pursuing careers in arms control and verification.

In addition, Sonenshine addressed maintenance of the congressional budget for public diplomacy; including men, especially young men, in the discussions about women and public diplomacy; human trafficking in Asia; and entrepreneurship programs used to initiate a domino effect of female entrepreneurship within countries.

US Priorities at the UN General Assembly



Sep. 19, Oct. 1—Dr. Esther Brimmer, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, spoke to audiences in DC and NY on US Priorities at the UNGA.

While the violence in Syria is primarily a security issue for the UN, it has also led to a substantial humanitarian and

refugee crisis. Brimmer expressed disappointment in Russia and China in the exercise of their veto on the Security Council resolutions addressing the conflict. She emphasized that there are still many ways the UN plays a role in the crisis: the Human Rights Council has held three sessions on Syria already, and has authorized a Commission of Inquiry that is providing "some of the clearest, professional, impartial documentation of the situation in Syria."

The UN is at the center of humanitarian efforts handling the stream of refugees fleeing into neighboring states. Brimmer believes that, along with humanitarian contributions, the UN's system can be most helpful once the majority of fighting has stopped and the Syrian people can demand accountability. She asserted that the constant

documentation and the strength of international legal mechanisms will give the Syrian people a legitimate pathway to seeking justice.

Brimmer focused on the Obama administration's expansive use of diplomacy and the multilateral system to address global challenges such as nuclear nonproliferation, good governance, security in Africa, and the protection of the rule of law. According to Brimmer, recognizing how interconnected these challenges are is key in addressing issues such as Somalia, where issues of security are linked to governance and environmental sustainability. She argues that these issues cannot be addressed in isolation if solutions are to be found.

Brimmer stressed the need for continued reforms within the UN system, particularly in budget and management issues, focusing on transparency and stream-lining the system. She highlighted the fact that last year—for only the second time in history—the Secretary General supported a smaller budget than the previous year. She pointed to the increasing tendency of UN agencies to post their audits online as a means of transparency. Returning to the expanded use of diplomacy by the Obama administration, Brimmer argued for this "type of long-term work that helps make a stronger institution."

Promoting the Next Generation of Leaders

NGO, Non-Profit and Government Career Forum



Dec. 7—WFPG co-sponsored a Non-Profit and Government Career Expo with George Washington University, NYU and the University of Pennsylvania. The Expo provided students the opportunity to explore internships and jobs with representatives of NGOs and government agencies

The event included opening remarks by Kathleen Doherty, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, and a panel with Shari Bryan of National Democratic Institute, Sarah Craven of the United Nations

Population Fund (UNFPA), Cindy Dyer of Vital Voices, and moderator Dawn Calabria.

The panel addressed issues facing students and young professionals, such as deciding to attend graduate or law school, networking strategies, balancing family life and work, and practical experience. The panelists were asked about the Foreign Service exam, the values of domestic versus international experience, the financial strains of higher education, and the importance of strong writing skills.

Why Does Measuring Gender Equality Matter for Foreign Policy?

Oct. 5—At a WFPG brown-bag luncheon, Sarah Iqbal, program officer at the Women, Business and the Law project at the World Bank, and Andria Hayes-Birchler, development policy officer at the MCC, discussed the importance of gender equality in foreign policy at a luncheon and program. The program focused on the World Bank's 2012 Women, Business and the Law report, which measures legal differentiations based on gender in 141 economies around the world. The goal of the World Bank's research and MCC's work is to assess which countries have specific legal constraints on female entrepreneurship, and to use this information to encourage governments to improve their business environments for female entrepreneurs and business owners, both in the federal and private sector.

Iqbal explained that even when no formal, legal differences exist between sexes in the workplace, there are laws that constrain women from

participating in entrepreneurship that affect their treatment in the workplace. Women represent 49.6% of the total global population, but only 40.8% of the formal workforce. In some places where women are constrained from working or running businesses, half of the population is not able to work. Iqbal affirmed that legal restrictions are not just related to under-developed countries or to low income groups—only 38 economies of 141 that the World Bank covers offer equal rights for both sexes in 45 key areas.

Many governments are not aware that these gender restrictions are part of their laws, because they are implemented in family laws and traditional laws. By highlighting these constraints, the World Bank and MCC have compelled many countries to work on improving their laws. Just during the past year, 36 economies out of 141 issued a total of 46 changes in their legislation. Of these, 41 were positive legal changes.

Member Corner

WFPG Welcomes New Director



The WFPG Board welcomes **Donna Cochran McLarty** at its newest Director. McLarty is an advocate for national and international efforts to support women, children and families. With a strong emphasis on cross-cultural understanding, she encourages international education and supports cultural diplomacy and interfaith dialogue. McLarty is a founding member and board co-chair emeritus of the Vital Voices Global Partnership. She currently serves on the executive committee

and as a liaison with the Clinton School of Public Service, where she and her husband have endowed the McLarty Global Fellowship program, which enables students and faculty to work with Vital Voices' projects. A former trustee of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and a creator of the AmericArtes Festival, she continues to serve on their International Committee. She also serves on the Blair House Board of Trustees, the World Conference of Religions for Peace, the Meridian Council on Women's Leadership, the Women's Forum of Conservation International, and co-chairs the Global Initiatives Council at Wesley Theological Seminary.

Fall Member and Guest Reception



Oct. 18—WFPG members and guests joined Board Chair Maxine Isaacs at her home for an evening reception to celebrate WFPG's many contributions to promoting women in international affairs. The event included a special off-the-record political update by CNN Chief Political Analyst Gloria Borger, on the upcoming election, the recent presidential debate, and the foreign policy implications of each candidate's statements.



WFPG members Pamela Pugh, Donna Constantinople, and Chair Maxine Isaacs

2012 was a banner year for WFPG and we appreciate all of your continued support through your membership, event sponsorship, contributions and participation. We hope that you will continue to join us in 2013 and that if you have not already joined as a member, that you will do so today!

**JOIN
WFPG
TODAY!**

- **Connect** with experts, diplomats & officials
- **Discounts** to high-caliber programs member-only invitations
- **Membership Directory** access & listing (optional)
- **Mentoring** opportunities

Learn more and register: membership@wfp.org | www.wfp.org